241 464 571 the surest safeguards against labour shortages due to sudden (and common) divorces. This is the reason why people with longer associations in one place, and stronger ties of kinship in the community are less vulnerable economically to the high divorce rate than newcomers, or those with their primary social ties outside Maguméri. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the upper class who can either afford to use wage labour, or utilize the subservience of followers.

433 435 Variations in price bring about fluctuations in farming activities. A higher price of millet one year induces a somewhat greater interest by rural and urban dwellers in the production of food grains. On the other hand, an increase by Government of groundnut prices paid to producers causes greater interest and some increase in acreage devoted to cash cropping. Several city dwellers who had not farmed for periods of two to six years told the writer that they were either going to go themselves, or send a subordinate, to the bush the following year to raise millet, because the 1956-57 price had risen as high as 39/- to 41/- per bag.

433 435 458 Besides this year to year fluctuation, there has been a steady rise in the Bornu economy over the past two decades. From 1938 to 1957 the prices in millet and groundnuts have been as follows: (1)

TABLE XIII

	Millet (to consumer) shillings per bag ø	Groundnuts pounds per ton to producer £
1938	15	5
1957	30	33
Percentage increase	100%	660%

ø Maiduguri market (average)
£ General price for Bornu

(1) Figures for 1938 taken from Economic Assessment Report (1938), file #3014, Bornu Provincial Government Office, Maiduguri. General prices for 1957 are taken from observations in the Maiduguri, Geidam, Damaturu and Maguméri markets.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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458 These figures show the spectacular rise in cash income which the Kanuri have enjoyed in the past two decades, and it is this fact basically, rather than increased productivity, which has accounted for the widespread innovations of industrially produced import goods.(1)

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571 Crop production is also affected by the lability of interpersonal relations. If it is personally profitable for an individual to become the subordinate of someone else, then he may leave his farm work in order to enter the service of his new superior. Many individuals (especially young men) suggested to the writer that if he would take them on as tada njima (sons of the house, pseudo sons) and give them money to trade, they would go anywhere in Bornu, whether or not they had crops growing at the time. Of course, if they had other sources of labour besides their own, then their crops would not be affected by their absence, but such considerations did not seem to be important to them.

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55 Finally, it should be realized that it is part of both the traditional and contemporary Kanuri conception of upward mobility that personal advancement is not to be found in farming. Achievement in Bornu is rather a function of profitable social relations and, more recently, western education. As social and cultural change proceeds, and progressively more full-time employment in the larger towns develops the urban growth and the attractions of the city for the peasant cultivator forms a continual pull on the rural population, and, therefore, on crop production. At present the rapid urban growth has not been felt as forcibly as it might be because of the large numbers of city dwellers who still maintain and work rural farms during the growing season.

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(1) Cf. Winter, E.H., Bwamba Economy, East African Studies, No. 5, (1955), especially pp. 41-44.